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Abstract: The use of new materials such as stickers, posters, and stencils has transformed how graffiti (or if you prefer street art) is made in the public spaces of Barcelona. In this article, I explore the practice of graffiti in this city through my participation in the project *Haciendo la Calle*, "Making the Street." Here I collaborated with the local photographer Teo in pasting his photographs of street workers on surfaces of public spaces. The project was inspired by the work of the French contemporary street artist JR who mixes photography and graffiti, pasting large-scale photographs on the walls of cities worldwide. Like JR, Teo tries to give visibility and voice to the subjects of his photographs and produce alternative representations of them, in contrast to those provided through mainstream media channels. Using audio-visual media I recorded and became part of Teo's performances in the public spaces of Barcelona. I argue that graffiti is shared and rejected as part of Barcelona's everyday life, travelling between multiple ways of doing and being in the city. This project offered me the opportunity to move between different situations and play with my position as an anthropologist as well as a subject in my own research. It required me to cross the boundaries between the observer and the observed and allowed me to get an insight into the politics and aesthetics of public space in Barcelona through the practice and representation of graffiti.

Keywords: Graffiti, sensory ethnography, collaborative anthropology, détournement, Barcelona

Introduction

> Guy Debord posited that "the primarily urban character of the drift, in its element in the great industrially transformed cities, could be expressed in Marx's phrase: 'Men can see nothing around them that is not their own image; everything speaks to them of themselves. Their very landscape is alive.' " (Sadler 1998, 15)

As Michel de Certeau (1985) has argued, the modes in which the inhabitants move through the city produces visible and invisible boundaries, which continuously transform the use of the space. Looking at my personal experiences within the project *Haciendo la Calle*, or "Making the Street," in this article I explore graffiti in the city of Barcelona as a modality of transformation, from the point of view of those who make it, those who engage with it (the public), and those who regulate it, through prevention in the case of the local council and through collaboration in the case of social art projects and galleries. The practice of graffiti in Barcelona has been transformed through-

out the last thirty years, with the explosion of this phenomenon in the 1990s coinciding with the transformation of some of the central neighborhoods of the city, such as "El Raval." During that time graffiti grew in popularity, transforming some parts of the city into a street gallery for these ephemeral artworks. Graffiti artists had unofficial freedom to produce their artworks and they took advantage of this, eventually creating an internationally recognized graffiti scene in the city. The local council's approach to graffiti changed in 2006, when the civic ordinance to regulate the image of, and behaviors in, the public spaces of the city was approved. I argue that changes in the graffiti scene in Barcelona reflect changes in the city's conception of public space. In these processes of transformation, graffiti artists have developed different ways of making graffiti according to the different situations that they have faced in the city.

The use of different materials, media, and techniques, such as stickers, posters, photographs and stencils, has become helpful in reducing the risks of unauthorized graffiti. Needing less time to create artworks in public space means that there is less risk of being caught by the police, and therefore expensive penalties can be avoided. In this article, I provide insight into these new ways of performing graffiti in Barcelona through my participation in the photographer Teo's project, "Making the Street." The research intended to examine the practice of graffiti in this city and how it navigates between the self-promotion of the artists and the collaborative and critical nature of their artistic practice in public space. The fact that graffiti in Barcelona is today only allowed on specific walls in connection with street art associations and is supervised and controlled by the local council and galleries shapes not only the perception of graffiti, but also its practice. The following literature review and description of my methodology will help to define the key concepts in this work.

Graffiti as a Visual Device for Tactile Encounters

The modern history of graffiti is built upon a paradox in which a mosaic of perspectives about aesthetics, the uses of common space, politics, and ownership are at play. Graffiti appears and disappears in the streets of Barcelona, fostering different kinds of tactile encounters. These encounters can be approached through a visual anthropology that is of and by the senses, and thus conceiving of graffiti images as "corporeal images" (MacDougall 2006). Following David MacDougall, "we see with our bodies and any image that we make carries the imprint of our body" (2006, 4). Graffiti images, as I will show throughout this article, are not only images made by other bodies but also images made by the way in which we interact with them. The tactility of perception implies looking at the moment in which the meanings of the images emerge from experience as "corporeal images." In this sense, MacDougall notes, "as we look at things, our perception is guided by cultural and personal interests, but perception is also the mechanism by which these interests are altered and added to" (2006, 2).

Drawing an analogy between Situationist theories and graffiti artists' performances becomes a useful strategy to explore methodologies to experience and represent our practices in the city. The Situationist International was a multidisciplinary group of artists and theories formed in the 1950s and

1960s, who sought to change the everyday life of citizens into a world of experiment, anarchy, and play (Sadler 1998, 76). As I will describe later in my collaboration with Teo, I put into practice some Situationist methods such as *détournement* to explore alternative ways of being in the city and representing graffiti. It becomes a useful practice to create arenas for experimentation in which themes of resistance, subversive practices, and new meanings linked to graffiti and the use of public space are in play.

In trying to study and represent the city, researchers from different social science disciplines have used Marxists theories (Castells 1977; Delgado 2007; Harvey 1989, 2006). Drawing on political economy approaches, they describe "a city that works in the interest of capital accumulation and exploitation" (Bridge and Watson 2002, 15). Exploitation, as Walter Benjamin (1969) claims, is not only economic but also cognitive. It can be said that Barcelona is recognized at the local and international levels by its specific image, which is built on "its steady amassing of symbolic capital and its accumulating marks of distinction" (Harvey 2006, 104). This image, therefore, can be seen and experienced from multiple perspectives. To get an insight into how graffiti forms part of it, I have approached graffiti in sensory terms, looking at the "aesthetic" of public space. Following Ranciére's (2009) broad notion of aesthetic in his study of critical art, I argue that public space is made by politics and aesthetics and represents particular ways of doing and being. The transformation of the "aesthetic" of public space by Teo's performances and photographs set the scope for this research. This research approach implies that graffiti cannot be approached as an object or an idea, but must be considered a lived experience based on actions and imagination. These are, as I will describe in the methodology section, felt and stimulated by relations between material objects, social relations, and mental processes.

Methodology

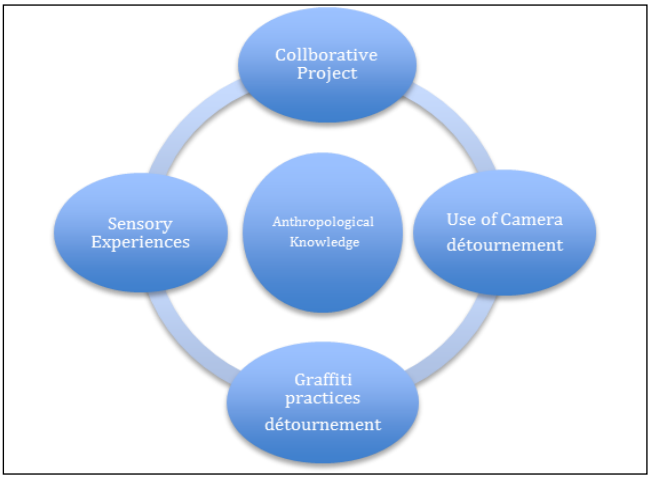

Figure 1: Descriptive diagram of the methodology.

The preceding diagram (Figure 1) portrays how my approach to methodology is based on multiple strategies, which interact with each other towards the production of anthropological knowledge.

My experience as ethnographer in this collaborative project was used as a method to embody the sensory dimension of what others might experience to produce academic knowledge (Hockey 2006; Pink 2009; Russell 1999). These ethnographic experiences took place in three situations that sometimes overlapped with each other and in which I adopted different roles as an ethnographer: being an observer, a collaborator, and a producer of graffiti images.

Applying a phenomenological model, the experiences of the everyday activities of the streets have been conceptualized by many academics as multisensory and not dominated or reduced to the visual sense as merely the operation of sight. Here, I follow the approach to vision of Cristina Grasseni (2004, 41), "not as a disembodied 'overview' from nowhere, but as a capacity to look in a certain way as a result of training the body." The knowledge produced from the project "Making the Street" was embodied through the practice of body movements as part of the process of filming Teo's performances in public spaces. The anthropologist Michael Taussig proposes a mode of analysis of everyday life based on the tactility of vision and other senses to overcome the obvious and reach the "flash of a profane illumination" (1991, 152). In this project, the camera became a tool not only to film Teo's performances, but also to analyze the aims and meanings of our collaboration and practices. What did we want to achieve by pasting Teo's photographs on public space walls? Did we want only the footage of the intervention or were we following something else? Throughout the ethnographic process, as I will show in the following sections, this visual material was transformed into an edited video for Teo's exhibition in an art gallery, an alternative cartography of the city produced by our own interaction with the public space, and finally into anthropological knowledge as part of my research analysis.

"Making the Street": A Collaborative Project

Figure 2: Teo's studio. Photograph © by the Author.

This collaborative project began when I met Teo in his studio, where the above photograph was taken (Figure 2), and he explained to me the project on which he was working. Teo, in his project "Making the Street," was using photography to create images of street workers. The subjects of his photographs were people involved in illegal activities in public space, such as selling beer, sunglasses, or women's handbags; providing sexual services; or playing music without a permit. The photographs were created in collaboration with street workers who became images of satirical, comical, and exaggerated situations. These photographs were pasted on surfaces of public spaces and ended up intertwined with my own research interests. When I interviewed Teo for my research about graffiti in Barcelona, he proposed that I collaborate with him to film his interventions in the streets and to add another perspective to the project. In that first interview, he described his project in one of the following terms:

> I want to make visible through my photographs the reality of the street workers in the public space of Barcelona. Although they are involved in illegal activities, they are also part of the socioeconomic landscape of the city providing service to local people and tourists, and I want to highlight this contradiction. With my photographs, I pay an homage to them and "making the street" [pasting photographs on the wall without authorization] is my way to get closer to their everyday life working illegally in the streets. (Teo 2012, interviewed by the author in Barcelona, November 2012)

We eventually agreed to create a collaboration fuelled by his photographic art project and my anthropological research about graffiti. This common project became the arena for experimenting and exchanging ideas on the practice of graffiti, ways of filming, and modes of representation. The process activated what Ranciére (2004) calls "aesthetic experiences," in which the collaboration between anthropology and, in this case, photography and graffiti is shaped by the redistribution of the roles and positions of each collaborator. This resulted in an alternative spatial configuration of the fieldwork, which allowed for a politics of collaboration between different "worlds" based on "anarchic disruption of the anthropological" (Strohm 2012, 119).

For our collaboration, we transformed some of Teo's photographs into black and white A0 format prints; then we trimmed them, leaving only the shape of the characters, and, finally, we pasted them onto different walls of the city and filmed the whole process. Within the street art world, this practice is called "wheatpasting" and it was inspired, as I mentioned above, by the French street artist, JR. Like the artworks of many of the artists whom I knew and interviewed in Barcelona, JR's projects propose a different image of the city from the one mediated through institutions and advertisement campaigns. In the "Inside Out" project, which has developed since 2011 on a global scale, JR gives everyone the opportunity to share their portraits and transform messages of personal identity into works of public art. Meanwhile, in "Unframed," another of his projects that began in 2009, he also deals with social memory and visibility, transforming archive photographs into public

art. These projects posit questions about the boundaries between the self-promotion of graffiti artists and the critical nature of their practices in public space.

The existence of graffiti is embedded in complex social relations. I define it as complex due to the multiple contexts, actors, and concrete and abstract relations (Strathern 1995, 30) that shape graffiti**.** Here we can identify the involvement of various social actors such as graffiti artists, art associations and galleries, city institutions, and the general public. We can find contradictions in their discourses and in addition we can see processes of transformations through adaptation of the graffiti to the legal order of the city, and alternative ways of making graffiti that transgress that same order in the city space. The last position mirrors the Situationist theories about capitalism and how the image mediated under capitalism portrays a false and inauthentic life in the city (Debord 1994[1931]; Knabb 1981; Sadler 1998). The capitalist city can be identified in Sharon Zukin's (2009) image of New York as a "Naked City" that has lost its soul due to the mass construction and gentrification processes, and also in Manuel Delgado's (2007) critique of Barcelona as the "The Lying City" that hides its social reality under an ideal urban "model." Members of the Situationist movement proposed methods such as *détournement* to transcend conventionalism and create new meanings through means of communication and interaction with the city space. I applied the method of détournement to explore the meanings associated with graffiti in public space and its relationship with institutions such as galleries and local authorities. I applied this method in two directions: first, as way to transcend the ways of being and acting in public space, producing in our case graffiti artworks; and second, when I used my camera to record and represent our interventions in public space as "corporeal images" that "are not just images of other bodies; they are also images of the body behind the camera and its relation with the world" (MacDougall 2006, 3). In these processes, the use of audio-visual media acted as an extension of my body to record and later represent Teo's actions in an edited audio-visual work. Throughout this process, I learn how to move and act in public space to film the actions and at the same time collaborate with Teo to make the photographs visible and long lasting in the streets.

In "Making the Street," the photographs were transformed from conventional photographs to graffiti artworks in the streets. These transformations were inserted in public spaces through my collaboration and participation. The experience of these transformations and the existence of these images in the city were recorded in different forms such as interviews, video recordings, and soundscapes. The recordings were later edited in a video, which was screened alongside some of Teo's photographs in his exhibition at the local art gallery "*La Escalera de Incendios*." The video represented the process of image making in connection with our journey in the city as a dynamic and juxtaposed dimension to the static nature of the photographs. Applying the method détournement to our project is a way to explore new meanings associated with the images that we created throughout our collaboration. It allows us to look at these images not only as material objects but also as acts embedded in different surfaces, sensory orders, and social relations.

To organize our interventions and record them on video we split our roles. Teo pasted the photographs onto the walls while I filmed the whole intervention with my camera. The photographs were taken, selected, and edit-

ed by Teo, but inspired and incorporated into public space and its everyday life through a previous interaction with local street workers such as the street vendor Jussif, my own participation, and the involvement of the spontaneous public while we were pasting the photographs in the streets. The various interventions that we carried out in different locations in Barcelona became "stories" shaped by the involvement of different participants. Taken during one of our first intervention, the following photograph (Figure 3) encloses different layers of interaction between people, people and materials, and people and means of representation. Additionally, this intervention became one of the graffiti "stories" that I am discussing and that I have incorporated as part of this research.

Figure 3: Pasting one of Teo's photographs next to Blu's mural in "El Carmel." Photograph © by the Author.

Looking at one of these graffiti "stories" in the city is a useful way to understand the symbolic and mutable dimensions of the graffiti in Barcelona. In the neighbourhood of "El Carmel" up in the mountains of Barcelona and almost erased but still visible on a containment wall, is one of the political murals painted by members of the PCC *Partido de los Comunistas Catalanes*, "Catalonian Communist Party," during the transition to democracy in Spain. In 2009, the internationally recognized Italian street artist Blu[1] created next to it, on the same wall, one of his murals, which was commissioned by Barcelona's art Festival "Influencers." The new mural represents a gigantic shark with skin made out of green 100 Euro notes and a big open mouth with sharp teeth, which is eating the old PCC mural. This case opens up multiple interpretations and shows how we need to approach graffiti not only in connection with its content but also by making reference to its use and how the inhabitants interpret and embody it as part of their environment. It is necessary to allow graffiti and street artworks to open up "stories." Teo and I tried to add another layer to the murals described above and we pasted one of his photographs close to the mouth of Blu's shark. Our intervention was very difficult because it was one of the first ones that we did, and the new layer that we

added did not last more than one day. Therefore the tactility of graffiti practices, as we will see in the following section, involves learning through training the body in a certain way of looking and acting in city space.

First Tactile Encounter

I was with Teo in his studio ready to transform the first photograph into an image to be incorporated into the public space of Barcelona. He trimmed the A0 (118.9 x 84.1 cm) black-and-white printed photograph, leaving only the contour of the photographed character. The name of the featured person on that first photograph was Jussif, a street worker from Ghana, who had lived in Barcelona for five years. Jussif arrived in the city without a resident permit and was working as an illegal street vendor. As a friend of Teo, he collaborated with him and was photographed featuring a street vendor running from the police, an everyday situation seen both in the center and other tourist areas of Barcelona.

Figure 4: Our first intervention in "El Raval." Photograph © by the Author.

For the first intervention, Teo asked a friend who worked pasting wallpaper onto the walls of houses for some practical advice on pasting our first photograph (Figure 4). In theory, it seemed a very easy process. First, we needed to prepare the glue. We followed the instructions to prepare it, mixing a powder with the right proportions of water while we shook it to avoid lumps forming until it became a sticky liquid. Then Teo rolled up the photograph that we had trimmed, and we headed to the street with a plastic bucket full of glue and a brush. Everything was ready for our first expedition, and we jumped on Teo's motorbike towards "Carrer de la Verge," a street located in the "Raval" neighborhood, which is part of the central district in "Ciutat Vella." Teo had chosen this first location on the corner of a street where a second -hand local market took place every Saturday. He thought that in this location the photograph would be very visible. Later we would realize that a visible place was not the only aspect that we needed to take into account for our in-

terventions. It was also important to look at the texture of the wall, how clean it was, the time of day, the location, and the amount of graffiti artworks that were already on that wall.

The textures of the wall surfaces are one of the main stimuli for graffiti artists. For instance, the textures that stimulate the painting of a quick "tag" (small graffiti signatures) in Barcelona can be found in a diversity of surfaces, such as a metal business shutter, the cement surface of any urban furniture, or in the plastic box that surrounds an electric meter. Throughout my interviews with graffiti artists and observations in the public spaces of Barcelona, I found that graffiti artists' aim is that their artworks will last in the urban space for as long as possible. Teo and I learned this throughout the development of our project after many of the first photographs lasted a few days and sometimes even a few hours. For graffiti artists the textures of the wall surfaces in the city have meanings, which offer them different possibilities to develop their works. I observed that in Barcelona they usually avoid painting on surfaces where their works were erased soon afterwards, such as the walls of official, corporate, or new buildings. Graffiti, as James Elkins (1999) states about painting, is both the object on the wall of a city, with its different meanings linked to institutional regulations, art theories, and graffiti crew relations as well as the actual action and experience that make that object visible—"Paint incites motions, or the thought of motions, and through them it implies emotions and other wordless experiences" (Elkins 1999, 193).

Coming back to the narration of our first tactile encounter, it was one o'clock in the afternoon, and the street was full of children and young people who had finished their classes in the nearby schools and public universities. We eventually decided to act and began to paste the photograph onto the wall of the street corner. This street ends at "Carrer Vallonzella," one of the arteries of the "Raval," linked to "Ronda Sant Antoni," which is part of the "Eixample" district. Both districts, "Ciutat Vella" and "Eixample," were built -in grid patterns but at different historical times and according to different spatial proportions: narrow and irregular in the old district of "Ciutat Vella" in the "Raval," and wide and squared in the modern "Eixample." Most of the "Raval" is a space in almost permanent shade where the sunlight is blocked by buildings (maximum six floors) that are very close to each other. It is a labyrinthine space where it is easy to get lost but also stay hidden. Our first intervention took us longer than we expected and this increased the possibility of being seen and sanctioned by the authorities. First, the glue did not stick enough, and, moreover, Teo applied too much of it. That made the photograph slip all over the wall, which did not have the right texture for good adherence either. Meanwhile I had set up my camera on the tripod in front of the wall and the action with the aim of filming not only Teo, but also what was happening around him in the street. After twelve long minutes of struggle, we were very lucky that the photograph did not end up ripped into pieces.

Although these images had an ephemeral nature, from the moment we abandoned the image on the wall of the street corner, it also became part of public space and open to multiple and varied interpretations and reactions from the city's inhabitants. A couple of days later I passed by the street corner and the photograph was still up. I took a couple of photographs and paid attention to the people who were passing by and looking at it. I observed how a group of local teenagers looked at the photograph and laughed when one of

them said, pointing to the image of Jussif, "look a nigger." Soon after that day, the specialized council cleaning team removed it from the wall.

The 2006 new regulation encouraged the prosecution of unauthorized graffiti and limited the creation of more elaborate and spontaneous murals, localizing this kind of artwork to particular walls regulated by the local authorities. In addition to the use of new materials and ways of performing graffiti that I am describing within the project "Making the Street," the new regulation triggered new forms of graffiti production in which proposals and extensions of projects were necessary to obtain formal permissions from the local institution of *Paisatge Urba,* "Urban Landscape." Within this new process of graffiti production the role of street art associations have become a key element in the organization of events, applications for formal authorizations, and interactions between graffiti artists and the local council. These street art associations were inhabitants' initiatives, which appeared as an answer to the new civic regulation of 2006 and its zero tolerance graffiti policy. In this new scenario, the art associations started to work as a bridge between the graffiti artists and the council institutions to legally find and manage walls in the public space for the practice of graffiti. This situation has resulted in alternative forms of graffiti creation in which the street art associations play a controversial role in the production of authorized graffiti. The method of adapting the way of making graffiti to the local regulations also bears similarities to the Situationist method of détournement. These new forms of graffiti creation, however, refer to the reuse of graffiti elements in a new social landscape in which the loss of its anti-authority and anti-capitalist nature is framed by new power relationships between graffiti artists, street art associations, and local institutions.

Discussion: Graffiti and the City

Throughout my fieldwork, I identified how graffiti was practiced within different social contexts and not always within the anti-authority and antisocial alternative system of public communication. This attention to multiple settings made it possible to find graffiti artworks that had been socially recognized or rejected and institutionally approved or erased. I argue that graffiti is shared and rejected as part of Barcelona's everyday life, travelling between the "aesthetic" and the "anaesthetic" of the city. Here I follow Walter Benjamin's understanding of "aesthetic" as a form of cognition based on the "sensory experience of perception" (Benjamin in Buck-Morss 1992, 6). Thus the public spaces contain smells, images, tactile encounters, soundscapes, and tastes. But how is this human sensorial realm created? To understand the graffiti of Barcelona, as part of Teo's project I engaged in a multi-sited ethnography in connection with different neighborhoods, graffiti associations, artists, social collectives, and galleries in the city. Hence, I tried to be part of the production of graffiti artworks rather than only observing them. My participation allowed me to be in between the non-existence and existence of the works as well as experience different ways of seeing and making graffiti. Applying Elkins' (1999) work "What Painting Is" to graffiti, I question what is thinking in the practice of graffiti? And this led me to explore its material memories, get immersed in its substances, and question how the material elements form part of corporeal experiences of graffiti. For instance, on the walls of Barcelo-

na on which graffiti is authorized, we find surfaces formed by a thick multi-layered texture formed by an overlapping of graffiti murals. The process of painting a new mural on these walls began by erasing the previous one, normally by covering it with white plastic paint applied with a paint roller. Some of the graffiti artists that I interviewed complained about the limited adherence of this kind of multi-layered texture. Therefore, they also scraped the wall before they painted it. The possibility of painting these walls with official authorization gives graffiti artists more time to spend on the walls to produce more elaborate works. This immersion into the walls can have different levels of depth, depending on the kind of work painted: the scale of the image, whether it is authorized, and whether it is created individually or collectively. Most of the authorized graffiti works are painted in groups, during daylight and in public space. This creates a kind of festive environment that attracts the curiosity of pedestrians who normally stop to take photographs and interact with the artists.

In Benjamin's terms the project of modernity and its new technologies began to shape human experiences in the city as "mass culture." Benjamin's argument implies a transformation of aesthetics from a cognitive form of being "in touch" with the space, its people, and memories to a way of manipulating the sensorial experiences. Benjamin calls this manipulation *phantasmagoria*,[2] and as Susan Buck-Morss says, it has "anesthetic" effects over the organisms, "not through numbing but through flooding the senses" (1992, 22). It is within this ocean of sensory inputs that graffiti appears and disappears in public space. In addition to my participation in Teo's interventions, I had the opportunity to be close to the painting of great scale murals on different walls and observed different techniques for moving over the surface. In the squatted building of "La Carboneria" the graffiti artists used ropes and harnesses in order to hang in the air, transgressing the boundary practices of bodies and surfaces and the horizontal, of being and moving in the city. In doing this, as Damien Droney (2010, 106) states, graffiti artists strive to create a city that is conducive to passion, democracy, and authenticity rather than utility, hegemony, and non-life. Whereas the practice of graffiti is shaped by the aesthetics of détournement and its emphasis on resistance, my observations and experiences in Barcelona show that the boundaries between different public space aesthetics in the city are sometimes unclear.

Using Benjamin's idea of phantasmagoria applied to a modernized city, I argue that graffiti artists endeavor to reduce its anaesthetic effects by being in touch, to produce their works, with a diversity of surfaces and ways of being in the city. The desired corporal relation with the materiality of the city is experienced through making. It has meaning in connections with other materials and practices that are developed within the public space. The photographs that Teo pasted on the walls formed also part of an "ocean of materials" in which human beings, like other organisms, were immersed, generating and transforming the city (Ingold 2007, 7). These temporal situations fostered the imagination of the people who were involved in them and incorporated the outside world as a form of empowerment and reflection in contrast to the mimetic adaptation of life in the city (Buck-Morss 1992, 17). In this case, Benjamin's claims about phantasmagoria as a quality of modernity were overturned through the practical experimentation and ephemeral transformation of the city space by some of its inhabitants.

Ephemeral Dynamics

In addition to what the local council calls illegal graffiti, we also find graffiti and street artworks commissioned or formally authorized by institutions in the public space of Barcelona. In some of those cases, the graffiti and street artworks have become permanent works alongside other public artworks in the city. This shows that graffiti has also gone through different processes of transformation, which have changed its social dynamics and how it is practiced, perceived, and consumed. In the project "Making the Street" I wondered if the removal of the photograph from the wall by the authorities really mattered, as we had filmed and taken photographs of the whole process. Now, I can say that I personally enjoyed the fact that the photographs survived as part of the public space in Barcelona. The fact of seeing the photographs on the walls made me remember our actions and wonder about why and how those images had survived in the city. Reflecting on their survival made me look at images, as W. J. T. Mitchell (2005) argues, in terms of their desires as personified objects.

In this sense, the ephemeral nature of graffiti images has not only material implications, but also tells us about the importance of the act of painting or making them. Many authors who have studied graffiti pay attention to its ephemeral nature. The anthropologist Susan Phillips (1999) analyzes the ephemeral features of graffiti from different perspectives. She looks at the instability of graffiti as a form and how it is exposed to the actions of other people; moreover, she analyzes how graffiti is part of the particular social and historical context in which it is created. The concept of ephemerality, Phillips states, "points not just to the circumstances that surround a graffito's production but to the broader context of its 'being and becoming' in the first place" (1999, 33). To support her statement, Phillips (1999) makes reference to the analysis of the ephemeral quality of graffiti developed by the art historian Ellen Handler Spitz (1991), who compares the ephemerality of graffiti with adolescence and its unstable and temporary circumstances. Spitz's and Phillips' approach can be interpreted in two ways: on one hand, we can emphasize the material characteristics of graffiti as an ephemeral object across space and time; and on the other, we can think about the creation of graffiti as part of a process shaped not only by space and time, but also by individual and collective experiences, learning processes, memories, and motivations. Through the latter interpretation, graffiti works are not only approached as isolated material elements that we have to document and categorize. In contrast, they are part of individual artists' careers, cities, and societies, which change with them and are part of their ephemeral reality. Since the "Making the Street" project, Teo has continued pasting more of his photographs in Barcelona and other cities, such as Bristol and London. In 2015, he developed a proposal alongside a bio-construction collective called T-Xtema,[3] and they applied to the council for a permit. This permit allowed Teo to paste some of his photographs on a larger scale and on a more permanent basis on the public space walls that surround the space where the bio-construction collective is developing one of its projects.

Conclusion

This ethnography enables us to reflect on how graffiti images are not only localized within particular and isolated social networks, but are also embedded in materials and bodies in motion. Here I have argued that Teo's and my graffiti practices were shaped by the constant flux of everyday life in public space. Our images on the walls of the city represented multiple dimensions of vitality, linked to the people who were represented on them and connected with image making, collaborations, personal projects, and different aesthetics. I think that once we left the photographs pasted onto the walls, they immediately started to be fused with other images in the city. They could be removed or cleaned up by the council or transformed or covered by other artists. In each of those possible cases, the photographs communicated something to other people. However, we also need to keep in mind that these photographs did not communicate anything for many of the inhabitants, who passed by without paying attention to them. In relation to graffiti and street art images, this "double consciousness" (Mitchell 2005) was undetermined and unpredictable within the messy networks of the city.

All of the interventions of the "Making the Street" project were recorded through videos and photographs. Photography and video were useful tools for reflecting on the transformations of these images, not only as part of different public space surfaces, but also as other kinds of images. In the final stage of the project, I helped Teo to prepare his exhibition and together we edited two videos. One of them was used as part of the promotion of the exhibition. It was uploaded on Vimeo and YouTube and later posted on Facebook and other social media networks. The second video, as I said before, was part of Teo's exhibition in the gallery and was played on a plasma screen alongside the framed photographs of the characters that we had pasted onto the street walls. It could be argued that the project was a starting point for Teo as a street artist. It helped him as a form of self-promotion and as a new way of working with his photography. For me it implies a way of reflecting on how graffiti artworks are not static images; as Jarman (1998) states about the murals in Ireland, they can be reproduced, manipulated, and transformed, and therefore they need to be approached taking into account both their physical and social environments. Our journey across the city space searching for possible spots was like a path composed by multiple possibilities. The visual material that we recorded allowed us to reflect on the interactions that we had and learn for future ones. Throughout this process, we learned that our interventions had to be planned in advance taking into account aspects such as the time of the day and the space we were targeting. The rest of the circumstances and possible risks were beyond our control. We also learned that pasting photographs onto walls was a tactile experience, based not only on the practical side of how to stick the paper onto the walls, but also on the way in which we saw the city and moved and acted within the city space. There were practical aspects that we also learned throughout this process, such as applying the glue directly onto the photograph and only a small amount onto the wall. Eventually, we started to identify certain features of the space where the photographs lasted longer and where it was safer to intervene. Most of these locations ended up being in the central district alongside other graffiti and street artworks, on the metal doors of abandoned buildings, and on walls that seemed to have been

forgotten or appropriated by graffiti artists that had become "small hidden islands of freedom"[4] and surrounded by the general order.

Finally, in terms of our collaboration, we had multiple debates throughout the whole process about different ways of filming, the framing of the images, the distance from the action, or the editing of the final videos. Eventually our collaborative relations also shaped the images that we produced during the project. Thus, these images can be seen, using MacDougall's (2006) term, as "corporeal images" created not only by the interplay of different ways of looking and image making but also imprinted by the movements and interactions of our bodies in the streets. After our third time in the streets pasting photographs, I adopted a different way of filming the interventions without a tripod. This allowed me to invest less time, be more spontaneous, and have more freedom of movement to follow the action. As many of the street artists explained to me, the graffiti artworks created today in the central district of Barcelona are very different from the big murals painted in the 1990s. The time invested, the materials used, and the aesthetics of the graffiti artworks in public space have changed. However, this has opened up other possibilities shaped by other materials and ways of interacting with public space. These practices, as I have tried to show in this article, are shaped by tactile encounters and ephemeral dynamics and can be approached according to the method of détournement and its changeable aesthetics. Like in the "Making the Street" project and in my own research, the graffiti in Barcelona navigates between planned and spontaneous practices.

Notes

1. http://blublu.org/

2. For Benjamin the idea of phantasmagoria was linked to the experience of intoxication of the reality in the city. In *Das Passagen-Werk*, Benjamin describes this idea of phantasmagoria in public space in connection with the Paris shopping arcades and the World Fairs and how both fostered fictional experiences of reality (Benjamin in Buck-Morss 1992, 22).

3. https://goteo.org/project/biobui-l-t-txema?lang=en

4. I refer to Arendt's words "small hidden island of freedom" (1968, 6) as spaces taken by oppositional groups to claim their rights against the dominant orders.

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